between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho, Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6(B)--ANALYST]

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While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 6(B)--ANALYST]

[P. 6(A)]

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver):

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value.

[P. 6(B)]

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Japan AB)

●121 Colonial policy. The purpose of this research is to present some data concerning the study of native policy within the frame of colonial policy.[1]

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648 From one standpoint, the history of Japan is that of the continuous expansion by colonization of the Yamato race. Japan's colonial activities had been especially vigorous in recent years. Formosa and the Pescadores Islands were taken in 1896; southern Saghalien was added in 1906 and Korea was absorbed in 1910. Now, comparing Japan's situation prior to the acquisition of Formosa with its situation after the inclusion of Korea, we find an increase in land area of approximately 300,000 sq.km., or 76.6 per cent and a population increase of some 17,200,000 Koreans, 3,700,000 Formosan Chinese and Formosan tribes and 1,520 Saghalien natives. Japan's policy towards these people has not only a significant bearing on their lives but will determine whether or not our colonial management is successful. The sudden development of our nation in recent years has made it inevitable then that there be frequent contiguity with natives and the success of our native policies affects the success of our continental venture and therefore the existence of the Japanese nation. Now, as systematic study is needed to rationalize a colonial policy, so is scientific study needed in order to form an ideal native policy. However, since the systematic study of colonization is a recent development and still in the process of establishing itself as an independent discipline, the study of native policy, which is a division of colonial policy, is only occasionally referred to and then merely in individual cases and, as yet, no consistent principles have been established by the processes of gathering materials and conducting comparative studies.[2] The natural procedure ought to be

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[1] Colonial studies cannot be said to have achieved sufficient progress even in Germany where they are most advanced. In 1909 C. Ballod in his essay, Die wissenschaftlichen Ansichten uber Kolonialpolitik, in Schmoller, *Die Entwicklung der Deutschenvolkswirtschatslehre in neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1909, stated that colonial study is a product of the nineteenth century. Later G. Zoepfel, who contributed to the establishment of colonial study as a discipline in his *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (section on "Kolonien and Kolonialpolitik"), says that today there does not exist any scientific explanation of colonial policy which pays equal attention to all colonies and he notes these studies. In the fourth edition of Zoepfel edited by P. Leutwein it cannot be said that the earlier weaknesses of the book are supplemented.

[2] A scientific basis for native policy was established by the English scholars Sir G. C. Lewis, H. Merivale, and E. G. Wakefield. But in Germany where the study of colonization first emerged the consideration of administrative policy, economic policy, and native policy were confined to A. Zimmerman's book, *Kolonialpolitik* (Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1905). In Japan native policy has been discussed as a part of native administrative policy and colonial labor policy. Professor Yanaihara's study of political interference in native social life as a native policy to the exclusion of other factors was an appropriate but unique piece of work. See his *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku* (Colonization and Colonial policy), 363 ff. My own so-called "native policy" involved broad fields including those of political, economic and social interference and although it

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1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
AJ
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basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4]

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

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The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

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realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso, Hayato, Ezo,* and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

[P. 8(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
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The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

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A 194
A [192]

It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs. 121

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again. 826 171 761 775

CHAPTER XXIX

THE VINES OF HEAVEN, AND SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

One day, as I was travelling alone through a forest of fine big elm trees, I happened to meet an old man who had large rings which had been made by bending green grape or actinidia vines into a circle. These he had thrust through the lobes of his ears. I thought this very curious, and straightway asked the old fellow to come to sit with me on the trunk of a fallen tree, so that we could converse together, for I sadly wanted to know about those ear-rings. In this chapter I desire to give our conversation on the subject as nearly as possible in the common idiom of his own native Ainu.

Said I, "I see, my elder brother, that you have pieces of vine made into rings and thrust through the lobes of both your ears. I am wondering why you have done this. I have seen many of your people wearing red cloth, elm bark thread and metal rings before, but this is the first time I have ever met any one wearing vines. Why is it? Would you mind telling me?"

Old Man. "Ah, my younger brother, as you see, I am growing old now. My bones have become stiff. In no way am I as lissom as I used to be and would like to be. And I am full of aches and pains at all times."

Self. "Just so, brother. All must come to that as time passes, if we live long enough. But what have those vine ear-rings to do with it? How can they help you?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE.

THIS book is not meant as a literary work, for I am not and do not pretend to be a literary man. It is but a record —an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations in Hokkaido, and a collection of notes and observations which I hope will prove interesting to anthropologists and ethnologists as well as to the general public.

Without any claim to infallibility I have tried to take an open-minded and sensible view of everything I have attempted to describe; in most cases, however, I have given facts without passing an opinion at all, and all I have said I have tried to express as simply and plainly as possible, so as not to give rise to misunderstandings.

There are a few points which I want to make quite clear.

First, that I went to Hokkaido entirely on my own account and for my own satisfaction. Next, that I accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.

I am endowed with a very sensitive nature, and I pride myself in possessing the gift of adaptability to an extreme degree, and this may partly explain why and how I could live so long with and like the Ainu, whose habits and customs, as my readers will see, are somewhat different to ours.

When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the natives themselves, and, whether they are savage or not, I endeavour to show respect for them and their ideas, and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me, and though I have occasionally had to swear at myself

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

carried away by its more fortunate rival, Hakodate. The population of Matsumai decreases considerably every year, as the inhabitants leave this poetical but dead-alive and decaying spot for the more exciting life to be found in newly-opened districts further east or north.

Between Fukuyama and Hakodate, a distance of over sixty miles, the road is extremely bad, and there is nothing whatever to see. Shirakami Cape is interesting as being the most southern point of Yezo, and from here the coast turns slightly towards the north-east.

Fukushima is an old village. The other headlands, and the Cape of Yagoshi, have no special features calling for attention. Near the latter cape the coast is volcanic, which renders it very rugged in shape and warmly tinted in colour. There are many villages along the coast, as Yoshioka, Shiriuchi, Kikonai, Idzumizawa, Mohechi, and Kamiiro, and the inhabitants seem well off and well-to-do people.

A great quantity of coal and firewood is carried on pony-back from these mountains to Hakodate. Rows of ten, twelve, or fifteen ponies one after the other, loaded with as much as they can carry, can be seen slowly travelling, under the care of one man, down to the principal port of Yezo, especially at the beginning of the winter season; and here and there stacks of split wood are piled ready for transportation.

Rounding the Hakodate Bay, I was again at the point whence I had first started, and happy that, notwithstanding all the ill-luck I had had, notwithstanding the strain on my physique, which is not by any means herculean, and notwithstanding all the obstacles which had come in my way, I had finally succeeded in doing what no European had ever done before, namely, in completing the whole circuit of Yezo at one time, exploring all its most important rivers and lakes, studying the habits, customs, and manners of that strange race of people, the Hairy Ainu, and visiting the Kuriles besides.

Many parts which I travelled over had never been trodden by European foot, and this made my journey all the more interesting to me. As the book stands I have related but the principal adventures which I had during my long peregrinations in Hokkaido, most of which are intended to illustrate Ainu customs and traits by my own personal experience rather

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

●121 than to excite sympathy for my hardships. Really, though the journey nearly cost me my life, I have never, in my extensive wanderings, enjoyed a trip more than that to Ainuland.

I have touched but slightly, and not more than was absolutely necessary, on subjects relating to the Japanese; for this is intended as a work on the Ainu.

114 I was happy yet sorry to be at the end of my journey! This was the 146th day since I first left Hakodate, and the distance I had travelled was about 4,200 miles, out of which 3,800 were ridden on horseback, or an average of twenty-five miles a day. The remaining 400 miles were either by steamer or canoe travelling.

From the day I broke the bone in my foot I travelled fifty-eight days, mostly on horseback, and the first time it was attended to and properly bandaged up was sixty days after it occurred, or two days after my arrival in Hakodate, by Mr. Pooley, chief engineer on board the ss. *Satsuma Maru.*

Mr. Henson was again extremely kind, and pressed me to leave the tea-house and go and stay at his place, and after five months of "hard planks" I slept again in a comfortable bed. What a treat it was! What a curious sensation to sleep in a bed again, and actually have sheets and blankets! But this was not all, for surprise followed surprise.

The pompous Consul, who for the sake of saving himself the trouble of looking into his desk, had made my last portion of the journey wretched and sorrowful, found that after all he was mistaken, and on the breakfast-table in my place I found a packet of about 100 letters and newspapers, which the Consul sent to me with a message saying that when I called last time he had forgotten who I was, and therefore had forgotten to give me my correspondence!

Now that we have travelled round and through the country in every direction; now that we have seen where the different tribes of Ainu are, I shall attempt to give my readers some insight into the Ainu themselves, and their mode of living.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neighbouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione*. For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen*, created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI.

Heredity—Crosses—Psychological Observations.

THE mental qualities of the Ainu are not many, and what they have are by no means great; nor are they improved by education, for what they know comes more from inheritance than personal acquirement, though naturally every rule has its exceptions. I repeatedly noticed that talent, such as it was, ran in certain families, the members of which were all more or less intelligent. Certain families were more musical than others; other families were more artistic—if, indeed, such a word could be applied to the very low development of the artistic faculty when at its best among the hairy people. Various members of one household were potently insane; others were as potently idiotic. I shall not class under this heading of heredity transmitted disease, like leprosy, consumption, &c., but I shall limit myself to heredity in physical traits and mental qualities. Unfortunately, with the Ainu intercourse between the sexes is so imperfectly regulated as to often lead one to erroneous conclusions. The reader may easily imagine the difficulty of establishing precise rules of transmission in a race like the Ainu, where castes are not marked, with the exception of the chieftainship in each village, the only necessary qualifications for which are a sound, sharp intellect, a strong physique, and personal courage. The office is hereditary if these qualifications are also inherited; but should the sons or brothers of the chief prove unworthy of his place, the Ainu would assemble in a "village council" and elect another strong, clear-headed, and brave man in place of the *roi fainéant* thus summarily deposed. These chiefs have no absolute authority, though the men often consult them in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types.

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes."
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 61		1. 58¾	
2. 65		2. 59⅞	
3. 60¼	Med. 62⅛	3. 59½	Med. 58⅞.
4. 64⅞		4. 54⅝	
5. 61		5. 59½	

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

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121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

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The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

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9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2

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Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

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mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

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The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i.e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,

127 Otopuke and Azuma areas. Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[1]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shuipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu (or ichanui) koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 824 825 776 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to religious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

[1] [i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The present study leaves much unexplored owing partly to methodological limitations. It suggests sufficiently, however, that the influence of habitat upon the group life of a primitive people should not only be analysed through their technology but also through their cosmological view of habitat and ritual reaction to it and that in such an analysis it is important to examine the spatio-temporal structure of group life in relation to the nature of habitat, especially the ecology and ethology of the surrounding biotic species. It is hoped that quantitative analysis will be attempted to inquire further into the problem.

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Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RY1

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As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

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Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

T A G 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

S T A G 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

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